

# Spanish- and English-language Local Television Coverage of Politics and the Tendency to Cater to Latino Audiences

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Congressional mandates, federal regulatory policy, local broadcasters, and democratic ideals agree that local media should present local news in a way that adequately represents (and ideally unifies) local communities. But how do local broadcasters determine the composition of their local community? And is their portrayal of the community consistent with the ideals of representative democracy? Through one of the first systematic examinations of Spanish- and English-language local television newscasts, the authors find that general market media attention to Latino audiences is a function of the characteristics of the target audience, the size of the media market, the interaction of market size and market characteristics, and the degree of competition between local stations. The results, however, also indicate that even under the most optimal circumstances, general market outlets provide minimal coverage of minority interests. The implications for localism in broadcasting, democratic representation, and the nature and quality of political information reaching citizens and noncitizens alike are also discussed.

**Keywords:** *local television news; mass media; minority media; political news coverage*

In 1997, the Project for Excellence in Journalism convened a group of highly respected television news professionals to discuss what standards should define quality local broadcasting.

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Almost every member of the Design Team believed that local TV news should provide service to the community. In a questionnaire, one member summed up the key responsibilities of a TV newsroom: "To unite a community through the sharing of information about local happenings, including legislation, education, jobs . . . through the analysis of the impact national and international events have on our community through the sharing of joy and angst, triumph and tragedy, of our neighbors." (Rosenstiel and Just 2007, p. 18).

While we have little doubt that local news stations seek to unite their communities, it is clear that this desire is not solely altruistic. It is also partly driven by congressional mandates and federal regulatory policy. The 1996 Telecommunications Act states, "Localism is an expensive value. We believe it is a vitally important value, however [and] should be preserved and enhanced as we reform our laws for the next century."<sup>1</sup> In 2002, the Federal Communication Commission Report and Order again confirmed, "We hereby reaffirm our commitment to promoting localism in the broadcast media."<sup>2</sup> More recently, the FCC also issued a notice of proposed rule making that places some regulatory requirements on local news stations to air local content.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, local media outlets pay attention to the characteristics and content preferences of consumers within their local media market for economic reasons, as it is local advertisers who pay the bills of local television stations (Gans 1979; Hamilton 2004). Today, even though local television stations continue to draw large profits and outpace other news sources in audience share,<sup>4</sup> broadcasters are increasingly concerned as they see local advertisers gradually turning to alternative outlets for product placement.<sup>5</sup>

Given the convergence of news ideals, federal regulations, and economic pressures, it seems clear that local media should attempt to aggregate the news, information, and events of interest to a community and present them in a way that adequately represents (and ideally unifies) the local population. What is less clear, however, is precisely how local television stations—facing a changing audience that varies widely in size, diversity, and preferences—actually define the local community they seek to unify, let alone how they attempt to unify the community once defined. These questions are inherently political: Whose interests are represented? Under what conditions are minority interests aired? The answers have implications both for how localism (a prized public policy) and pluralism (a philosophical ideal) work in practice.

As we outline below, the rapid growth of the Latino population in the United States and the Spanish-language media that serve it presents an ideal test case for exploring how (or if) general market television stations adapt to the changing demographics of their audience. Perhaps more importantly, however, comparing the content of Spanish-language news to that aired by English-language news will allow us to speak to the representativeness (or lack thereof) of vital electoral and political information reaching American citizens as they head to the ballot box and noncitizen residents as they navigate their place in American democracy.

Given the power of media to shape the relative issue prioritization for different policies (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; McCombs 2004; Protest and McCombs 1991; Weaver 1981; Winter and Eyal 1981) and legislative and executive attention to those issues (e.g., Kingdon 2003), it is important to know the extent to which issues of importance to Latinos are covered (some might say valued) by general market media. Likewise, given that a majority of English- and Spanish-speaking viewers rely on local news as their primary information source and that media exposure,<sup>6</sup> at a minimum, influences the information with which viewers interact or deliberate with their family, neighbors, and colleagues (Bartels 1993; Page 1996; Putnam 2000), understanding how news stations determine what to air certainly has political implications.

This analysis explores the factors that lead general market stations to cover issues perceived as important to Latinos. It also provides a baseline understanding of the differences in the news content provided by both general market and Spanish-language stations. In short, we seek to examine how media companies define and segment their audiences and how those decisions affect what viewers see on their local news. While perhaps somewhat ambitious, it is our contention that without an understanding of both parts of the equation, any answer would be incomplete.

## **The Market for News and the Challenge of Defining “Local” Interest**

Scholars have long recognized that local media outlets face a series of challenges in defining and attracting an audience. As Kaniss (1991) argues,

The primary concern of any local news medium—whether metropolitan newspaper, local television station, or city magazine—must be to win the allegiance of the local audience that is the target of its advertisers. The local news firm must match its messages to its particular local market, and, even more important, it must draw that market of dispersed and diverse readers together into a common local identity. It is not enough to produce sensational news; what is required is to produce with the kind of sensation—or interest or entertainment—that carries with it the symbolic value capable of binding together the local audience. (p. 59)

Unpacking this quote highlights several important points. First, the potential audience for local television is a function of the demographics (and diversity) of each media market. Second, the content of news is fundamental to drawing audiences, which means outlets must try to tailor their newscasts to consumers' preferences. Third, a significant part of the challenge for local broadcasters is that they are, in effect, attempting to manufacture an audience comprised of diverse subpopulations. For all local television broadcasters, and especially those in demographically diverse markets, this may be a daunting prospect and one fraught with both economic and political challenges.

Given the variation in demographics and in content preferences of different audiences, media firms typically respond by classifying segments of consumers as having similar preferences. Then, through Nielsen ratings, stations monitor their ability to attract viewers with each of these “niche” audiences.<sup>7</sup> For example, the demographic subgroups most desirable to advertisers—generally those 18 to 49 years of age—have long been a prime media target (Bennett 2003). Since news viewers tend to be somewhat older, the 25 to 54 age range is an especially important demographic (Rosenstiel and Just 2007) for news programming. In addition, local broadcasters traditionally pay attention to breakdowns by gender and, as we argue below, perhaps increasingly to minority/ethnic audiences.

Once different niche audiences are identified, media outlets cater to their target niches by airing content that corresponds with known (or more likely perceived) preferences of the subgroups. Niche audiences are, therefore, fundamental to the production of news (Hamilton 2004; Kaniss 1991). The challenge of course, especially in large, highly competitive markets (see the argument in Zaller 1999), is balancing different niches’ preferences and prioritizing content preferences among groups so as to not lose market share to their competitors. For example, research by Gentzkow and Shapiro (2005) suggests that in competitive markets local TV stations balance preferences between Republican and Democratic niche audiences by providing virtually equal airtime to Democratic and Republican candidates.

While the basic economic calculations that lead stations to produce appealing content for certain subgroups are clear, we know less about how stations choose to cater to one subgroup over another within the market. This is unfortunate because the decisions made about which subgroups to target have clear and important political consequences in terms of representation. They also have significant policy implications. As noted above, Congress and the courts have clearly conveyed that media firms have an obligation to serve the public interest, in part by providing quality news and public affairs programming. The three cornerstones of FCC regulatory policy in this area are its efforts to promote (1) localism, (2) diversity, and (3) competition in local media markets. In essence, this study examines how stations define *localism* in practice, how the *diversity* of the audience influences the diversity of news content, and how economic *competition* influences the diversity and localism of news content.

### **Specialization, Segmentation, and the Role of Minority Institutions**

Although in general, news stations may compete for the same demographic audiences within their market, there are reasons to believe that diversity within any given geographic area may create new opportunities for specialization or audience segmentation. For example, scholars have long argued that minority institutions typically thrive when majority institutions marginalize or exclude minority groups and minority issues

(e.g., Guidry and Sawyer 2003; Olzak and West 1991). Minority media, therefore, often fill a void in the information environment by increasing the visibility of minority groups and highlighting issues associated with marginalized populations (for a review of minority institutions and media, see especially Grose 2006; also see Jacobs 1999; Wolseley 1990). In this sense, Spanish-language broadcasters (or other ethnic broadcasters for that matter) competing with English-language outlets in metropolitan areas seem to have a significant advantage. As the Annual Report on Spanish-language media from the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2004) argued,

Beyond simple population growth numbers, the Spanish-language media have one important element helping their explosive growth. It is not ethnicity that determines audience; it is language. That is why, for instance, Telemundo and Univision can be national networks, even though they are broadcasting to an audience with varied national backgrounds—a heavily Cuban community in Miami, a more Puerto Rican community in New York, and a predominantly Mexican community in Los Angeles. (p. 1)

Furthermore, as this quote highlights, Spanish-language audiences in individual markets may be linked together not solely by a common language but also by cultural connections to a common (within market) heritage. Given these advantages, it is not surprising that English-language outlets have traditionally ceded whatever “ethnic” audience exists to “ethnic” outlets and focused instead on appealing to broader demographic niches. In fact, there is ample evidence that general market print media (see DeSipio and Henson 2008; Subervi-Vélez and Lozano 2008) and general market national networks (Langenkamp and Subervi-Vélez 2008; Wilkinson 2008) have practically ignored Latinos and issues of concern to Latinos. There are, however, good reasons to believe that general market outlets, particularly at the local level, may not continue to cede ethnic audiences to minority media. We explore these possibilities below.

## **The Case for Latinos as an Attractive Niche**

Television broadcasters, particularly at the local level, are increasingly concerned about their ability to remain profitable.<sup>8</sup> Often lost in the discussion of the technological changes (e.g., the Internet) and threats to the existing advertising model (e.g., TiVo and DVRs) is the fact that general market broadcasters are seeing increased competition from the rapidly growing ethnic media.<sup>9</sup> In some local markets, Spanish-language news programs have actually overtaken general market sources as the highest-rated newscast in either language.<sup>10</sup>

The ability of Spanish-language broadcasters to compete (and win) in ratings battles is perhaps enough to suggest that local English-language television stations may begin to view Latino audiences as an identifiable and reachable niche to actively pursue. In addition, the fact that Latinos are the fastest growing demographic in many cities is also

an appealing characteristic for local broadcasters in search of additional advertising dollars (see Davila 2000, 2001; Husband 1994; Rodriquez 1997).<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, as a group, Latinos are younger and tend to watch more news than the average English-speaking viewer, and televisions in Latino households usually reach more people.<sup>12</sup>

It is also clear that as the Latino population increases, its political importance grows as well. While both political parties have actively targeted the Latino vote since the 1950s, there is evidence that these efforts have recently increased in intensity and sophistication of outreach and targeting (Connaughton 2005; Oberfield and Segal 2008; Santillan and Subervi-Vélez 1991; Subervi-Vélez 1992, 2008; Subervi-Vélez and Connaughton 1999; Subervi-Vélez et al. 1987). If nothing else, this suggests that both Latino and general market broadcasters may follow political candidates' interest (and advertising dollars) and also increase their efforts to target Latinos. Taken together, these facts make it quite reasonable to suggest that if general market media outlets fail to reach out to growing Latino populations, it is unlikely that they will cater to other minority or ethnic subgroups.

## **Explaining When and Why Outlets Will Cater to Niche Audiences**

The increasing economic and political importance of the Latino population, coupled with the viewing patterns of Latinos outlined above, suggest that general market broadcasters *should* see Latinos as an important target niche. However, as outlined earlier (Kaniss 1991; Zaller 1999), local outlets must balance the potential value of any new niche against the viewing preferences of their existing audience. Similarly, as local ethnic broadcasters increasingly compete directly with general market outlets, they must also guard against losing their primary audience.

The key question therefore becomes, under what conditions will media (whether general market or minority) be more likely to cater to a particular audience? Drawing on sociological, political, and economic theory, we argue that the importance of any specific demographic depends on factors at three levels: (1) the characteristics of the "fundamental" or most general audience of the outlet, (2) the characteristics of a particular niche audience and how the niche is perceived by the overall population in the market, and (3) the characteristics of the marketplace within which an outlet is situated.<sup>13</sup> We examine each factor in turn.

### **Fundamental Audiences**

First and foremost, the fundamental audience—or the most general audience segment pursued by a media outlet in the absence of competition (for an overview, see Hannan et al. 2003)—will largely determine the extent to which a particular television organization may cater to a given niche.<sup>14</sup> We have suggested that English-language

stations (whose most general audience is made up of some subset of English-language speakers, including English-speaking Latinos) may be more likely today to air news content related to Latinos than in the past. However, because the most general audience of Spanish-language stations remains some subset of Spanish-language speakers,<sup>15</sup> it still seems clear that,

*Hypothesis 1:* All else equal, Spanish-language news should cater more explicitly to Latino interests and content preferences than its English-language counterpart within and across markets.

## The Role of Niche Audience Characteristics

There are three characteristics of a particular niche audience that may lead media outlets to cater to the preferences of that niche: (1) the size of the niche proportional to the overall population, (2) the diversity of the niche, and (3) the overall public perception of the particular niche within the market. First, as the size of the target audience increases as a proportion of the overall population within a given market, the greater the likelihood that media outlets will court the niche (see Hamilton 2004, p. 29). At the very least, English-language broadcasters in diverse markets may see the growing Latino population as being an important (and perhaps untapped) niche audience that they can attract by airing stories on issues of importance to Latinos.<sup>16</sup> To state it more explicitly,

*Hypothesis 2:* General market outlets in areas with higher total numbers of Latinos should cater more to Latino audiences than local stations in markets with fewer Latinos.

Second, while niche audience size may be most important, the diversity within the niche itself also matters. More specifically, homogeneous niche audiences constitute an easier target for broadcasters looking to get maximal effect out of small content changes.

*Hypothesis 3:* General market outlets in areas with a more homogeneous Latino population (e.g., markets with a dominant Latino ethnic heritage) will be more likely to cater to Latino audiences than local stations in markets with a more diverse Latino population (e.g., large sections of two or more of the following ethnicities: Cubans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, etc).

Finally, politics or political relations between subgroups within the market matter. In other words, the overall perception of the particular niche is important as it may influence the extent to which media outlets risk losing general market consumers when featuring stories intended to draw niche audiences.

*Hypothesis 4:* The extent to which Latinos are valued (rather than marginalized) by a community, the greater the likelihood general market outlets will cater to their interests.

## The Effect of Market Characteristics

In addition to fundamental and niche audience factors, the decision by general market stations to reach out to Latinos is likely to be influenced by broader market characteristics. More specifically, with 210 media markets across the United States, there is wide variation in size, diversity, and degree of competition between media, all of which seem likely to influence the decision to cater to Latinos.

### Market Size

The size of the market may factor into stations' decisions to cater to specific subpopulations in several ways. First, larger markets are more likely to experience crimes, disasters, and other newsworthy events with dramatic visuals that may crowd out other interests (Carroll 1989; Kaniss 1991; but for evidence of a more complex pattern, see Hale et al. 2007). Second, the sheer size of the largest markets may encourage outlets to cater to the general audience rather than air content tailored to a specific demographic, which large segments of their viewers may see as irrelevant (for a similar argument with respect to congressional races, see Vinson 2003).

*Hypothesis 5:* Stations in larger markets will be less likely to cater to Latino audiences.

### Demographic Distribution of the Market

Not only do media markets differ greatly in size, but also there is wide variance in the demographic distribution of audiences between different markets. Markets with homogeneous populations necessarily have an easier job producing news stories that will appeal across broad cross-sections of the population base. Although larger markets may tend to ignore any given subpopulation in favor of general coverage, as the diversity of the market population grows, outlets in such markets may be forced to bend to the preferences of the diverse groups within their community. In other words, the size of the market and the diversity of the overall population are likely to interact and affect stations' decisions to cater to niche audiences.

*Hypothesis 6:* Larger markets with an ethnically diverse population overall will increase the likelihood that stations within the market will cater to Latino interests.

### Market Competition

Finally, market competition clearly plays a role in media outlets' decision to cater to particular niches (see Zaller 1999). In sociological theory, a "realized" audience (see Hannan et al. 2003) is where organizations position themselves within a competitive environment, which may or may not be synonymous with their fundamental



audience. Generally speaking, the fundamental strategy for English-language stations is appealing to a mass audience while the fundamental strategy for Spanish-language stations is appealing to an already segmented (Spanish-speaking) audience. However, increased competition among broadcasters for market share along with changes in the environmental structure of the market (e.g., more Latinos watching news in English) may lead the realized strategy of general market and ethnic media to intersect. This overlap occurs as organizations adapt to the changing external environment—content preferences of consumers (see Carroll 1985)—and restructure their own internal organizational processes, or the capability of a firm to deliver the preferred content (see Pólos et al. 2002).

Generally, firms that have traditionally held a larger share of the common resource space (in our case English-language stations) are often more likely to attempt to co-opt the output of traditionally smaller share competitors (i.e., Spanish-language stations) than the opposite.

*Hypothesis 7:* The greater the competition within markets, the more likely stations will be to cater to important niche audiences.

## Identifying Niche Audience Preferences

Before turning to the methods and results, we must identify how local outlets may adjust the content of their news to attract Latinos. We realize that adjusting content is not the only possible way general market stations may seek to attract Latino viewers.<sup>17</sup> However, we agree with Shoemaker and Reese (1995), who remind us, “The more a media organization promotes itself within a target audience, the more its content will reflect the interests of that audience” (p. 269). Therefore, using local news content to explain the conditions under which stations will target a niche audience requires identifying content preferences for the niche audience that are distinct from the general population.<sup>18</sup> We also recognize that attempting to identify a set of “Latino interests” obviously requires a certain amount of sensitivity. In fact, we sympathize with critics of the Panlatinidad paradigm who argue that a cross-cultural Latino identity ignores important differences between subgroups with different ethnic heritages (Davila 2001; Johnson et al. 2001; Mayer 2004). Even so, the fact remains that we must attempt to identify a set of interests common among Latinos (distinct from the interests of the non-Latino population) that the media may use to court them.

Fortunately, we have good reason to suspect there will be clear content preference differences between Latino and non-Latino audiences. Perhaps one of the most recognized distinctions in the literature is the notion that unlike previous immigrant communities, who followed a straight-line assimilation pattern, Latino immigrants prefer to simultaneously maintain connections to their country of origin while also building relations in the United States (Barreto and Muñoz 2003; Fraga et al. 2006;

Jones-Correa 1998; Subervi-Vélez 2008).<sup>19</sup> A 2004 survey that shows 72 percent of Spanish-speaking Latino consumers follow news from their countries of origin closely compared to only 31 percent of the English-speaking Latino audience,<sup>20</sup> and 77 percent of the English-speaking audience but only 51 percent of the Spanish-speaking audience report following news of the U.S. presidential election. Therefore, increased volume of world affairs coverage may be a sign of catering to the plural identity of Latino audiences.

Of course, the quantity of coverage is only one measure of how media outlets may seek to draw audiences. A more fundamental approach is tailoring the focus of coverage within particular topics to specific audiences. Therefore, we also examined the extent to which world affairs coverage made explicit references to Latin American countries and the extent to which domestic political coverage made explicit references to Latino interests.<sup>21</sup> To the extent that outlets care about Latino audiences, we should expect to find evidence in both the volume and focus of political content aired.

## **Data and Variable Operationalization**

We draw on data from the University of Wisconsin NewsLab to systematically compare the complete content of late-evening local news broadcasts (from 9:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.) in English and Spanish aired in three cities with the most Latino television households and the corresponding English-language broadcasts in five other markets.<sup>22</sup> The stories examined for this study were extracted from a larger project analyzing campaign news coverage in eleven markets,<sup>23</sup> where UW NewsLab in partnership with the Norman Lear Center at the University of Southern California captured all prime-time programming (5:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.) airing on the four major English-language stations (ABC, CBS, FOX, and NBC) and the two major Spanish-language stations (Univision and Telemundo). Overall, this study examined more than 500 hours of programming during the month (October 4 through November 1) leading up to the 2004 presidential election.<sup>24</sup> In this analysis, we focus on the 2,560 stories mentioning or focusing on the election and the 2,157 stories mentioning or focusing on world/international affairs aired on Spanish- and English-language late-evening newscasts.

Given the centrality of overall population diversity and diversity of the Latino population within each media market to our argument, we calculate two indices (a population diversity index and a Latino diversity index), which measure the probability that any two randomly selected people within each group will be of the same race or ethnicity (see Chang and Yamamura 2005). In calculating the two indices, we chose to include only the major racial and ethnic grouping listed by the U.S. Census Bureau. The population diversity index used White, African American, Native American, Asian American, Hawaiian, and Hispanic. In this index we also included an "other" category and a category for all respondents who listed multiple racial or

**Table 1**  
**Breakdown of Media Markets Analyzed**

Media Market	Market Rank	TV Homes (in Millions)	Percentage Hispanic <sup>a</sup>	Diversity Index	
				Latino Only	Total Population
Los Angeles	2	5.5	40.3	.408	.669
Miami	17	1.5	40.3	.734	.667
New York	1	7.4	18.2	.794	.618
Orlando	20	1.3	16.5	.687	.530
Philadelphia	4	2.9	5.6	.605	.463
Denver	18	1.4	18.5	.480	.447
Dayton	58	0.5	1.2	.690	.313
Des Moines	73	0.4	4.2	.456	.222

Note: Market information from Nielsen Media (see [www.nielsenmedia.com](http://www.nielsenmedia.com)). Shading represents markets for which we have Spanish-language television news data.

a. Source: U.S. Census Bureau (Census 2000 Summary File 1 available through <http://factfinder.census.gov>; note: all numbers are based on metropolitan statistical areas).

ethnic identities. The Latino diversity index used included Mexican American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Dominican Republic, Central American, South American, and an “other” category, which includes all other Hispanic or Latino groupings.

The probability that one randomly selected person will be of a particular race is simply the percentage of each racial or ethnic group within a given area. The probability that two randomly selected people will be of the same racial group is the population percentage of that group squared. The probability that two randomly selected people will be of the same race ( $P_{\text{same}}$ ) is the sum of squared probabilities for all races. The probability that two randomly selected people will be of different races ( $P_{\text{diff}}$ ) is simply  $1 - P_{\text{same}}$ . The higher the number, the more diverse the community. Using this method, we calculate both the overall population diversity and the diversity of the Latino population within each metropolitan statistical area associated with each media market. All population figures are based on 2000 U.S. census data available at <http://www.census.gov/>. Table 1 displays the characteristics of all eight media markets included in this study, including the three markets for which we have Spanish-language newscasts.

In the analysis that follows, we include an indicator for Spanish-language newscasts along with the population diversity index and Latino diversity index. As a measure of market size, we include the number of TV homes (in millions) from Nielsen estimates for each market. For our hypothesized role of the conditional effect of diversity on market size, we include an interaction term between the population diversity index and the number of TV homes.

**Table 2**  
**Typical Breakdown of a Late-evening 30-minute Local News Broadcast**

	Spanish: NYC, LA, Miami	English: NYC, LA, Miami	English: Orlando, Philly, Denver	English: Dayton, Des Moines
Advertising	6 min, 48 sec	8 min, 32 sec	8 min, 48 sec	9 min, 11 sec
Sports and weather	6 min, 9 sec	5 min, 52 sec	6 min, 59 sec	7 min, 18 sec
Crime/injury	3 min, 26 sec	3 min, 46 sec	4 min, 15 sec	2 min, 28 sec
Elections	2 min, 59 sec	3 min, 40 sec	3 min, 13 sec	3 min, 49 sec
World affairs	2 min, 33 sec	0 min, 50 sec	0 min, 38 sec	0 min, 28 sec
Teaser/intro/intro music	2 min, 32 sec	1 min, 49 sec	1 min, 22 sec	1 min, 32 sec
Other	1 min, 55 sec	1 min, 33 sec	1 min, 3 sec	1 min, 0 sec
Health	1 min, 17 sec	1 min, 19 sec	1 min, 8 sec	1 min, 7 sec
Business/economy	1 min, 1 sec	0 min, 36 sec	0 min, 45 sec	0 min, 44 sec
Local interest	0 min, 54 sec	1 min, 42 sec	1 min, 29 sec	1 min, 57 sec
Political/govt., nonelection	0 min, 26 sec	0 min, 21 sec	0 min, 22 sec	0 min, 26 sec

We also argued that the public perception of niche audiences within the market will affect the extent to which stations cater to such segments. Given the controversy over illegal immigrants, many of whom are Latinos, we use the estimated number of illegal immigrants (in 100,000s) in each state as a proxy for potential intergroup conflict and the extent to which Latinos are valued or marginalized by the community.<sup>25</sup> This proxy measure is based on a concept known as group threat theory, which argues that “large proportions of minorities in a given area are a precondition of minority-majority conflict, threat, prejudice and anti-minority stereotypes” (Dixon and Rosenbaum 2004, p. 263; also see Blalock 1967; Bonacich 1972; Olzak 1992). We recognize that this measure has its limitations and believe that future research would be well served to look at other measures for intergroup conflict such as the number of negative stories about immigrants in other media, local opinion polls on ethnic relations, or even interviews with local community leaders. Finally to measure competition, we also incorporate the Herfindahl–Hirschman Index (HHI), a commonly accepted measure of market concentration used in FCC hearings.<sup>26</sup>

## Results: Volume of Coverage

As with research on English-language news, the vast majority of research concerning Spanish-language news has focused on the national networks (Alexandre and Reh binder 2002; Constantakis-Valdés 2008). While there are a few notable exceptions (see Hale et al. 2008; Subervi-Vélez 1999; Tovares 2000), the fact remains that we know very little about even the basic questions such as the volume of coverage. Therefore, our first objective is to paint a general picture of the content of a typical local news broadcast in Spanish and English languages. Table 2 displays

the typical breakdown of a late-evening 30-minute broadcast for local Spanish- and English-language news during October 2004.

As expected, local Spanish-language news spent much more time on world affairs and foreign policy, on average tripling the amount of world affairs coverage provided by English-language stations ( $t = -3.507, p < .000$ ). A typical late-evening local Spanish-language newscast devoted nearly 2 minutes more airtime per broadcast to world affairs than a similar English-language newscast. More telling, perhaps, is that the English-language stations' coverage of world affairs decreases with the heterogeneity of the population. Viewers of English-language news in more ethnically diverse markets such as New York, Los Angeles, and Miami will see, on average, almost twice as much world affairs news than those living in less ethnically diverse markets, such as Dayton or Des Moines. As expected, election coverage is featured more prominently on English-language news than Spanish-language news ( $t = 2.796, p = .003$ ). While this trend does not correlate with the heterogeneity of the population, the fact remains that English-language news allocate roughly 30 seconds more, on average, to election coverage per broadcast.

## Results: Focus of Coverage

Next, we more closely examine domestic election coverage and internationally focused content to assess the extent to which local broadcasters reach out to Latino audiences (See Table 3).

As expected, Spanish-language election stories are much more likely than their English-language counterparts to mention Latino interests (32 percent to 2 percent,  $t = -12.633, p < .000$ ). Despite limited coverage overall, the number of English-language election stories referencing Latino interests is statistically different when we group cities together according to their demographic heterogeneity. Viewers in the most heterogeneous markets (New York, Los Angeles, and Miami) will see more Latino interest stories than those in moderately ( $t = -2.926, p = .004$ ) or least heterogeneous markets ( $t = -4.739, p < .000$ ). Furthermore, stations in moderately heterogeneous markets (Orlando, Philadelphia, and Denver) aired more election stories referencing Latino interests than did stations in the least heterogeneous markets of Dayton and Des Moines ( $t = -2.551, p = .012$ ).

Unsurprisingly, Spanish-language news aired more world affairs stories that mentioned Latin America countries than did English-language news ( $t = -26.692, p < .000$ ). In addition, the results support our original expectations regarding variation according to ethnic diversity within a market. The most heterogeneous markets are significantly more likely than their somewhat ( $t = -3.440, p = .001$ ) and least ( $t = -3.531, p < .000$ ) heterogeneous counterparts to air stories about Latin American countries.

**Table 3**  
**Election and World Affairs Stories Catering to Latinos (Percentage)**

	Latino Issues (%)	<i>n</i> of Election Stories	Latin Am. Country Mention (%)	Cuba (%)	Dom. Rep. and Puerto Rico (%)	Mexico (%)	<i>n</i> of World Affairs Stories
<b>Spanish language</b>							
Los Angeles	39.2	97	62.0	3.4	0.0	44.9	205
Miami	31.3	166	77.5	43.8	5.6	5.0	160
New York	28.1	121	53.8	4.7	23.6	7.5	106
Overall	32.3	384	65.4	17.4	7.2	22.9	471
<b>English language</b>							
Los Angeles	2.2	228	3.2	0.4	0.0	1.1	282
Miami	5.9	289	19.4	10.4	1.5	3.5	201
New York	3.2	158	2.5	1.0	0.0	1.0	199
Orlando	1.1	187	4.1	2.1	0.0	0.0	97
Philadelphia	1.3	227	1.1	1.1	0.0	0.0	181
Denver	1.7	402	4.4	1.8	0.3	1.8	384
Dayton	0.0	245	1.8	0.9	0.0	0.0	109
Des Moines	0.5	440	3.4	0.9	0.0	1.7	233
Overall	1.9	2,176	5.1	2.3	0.2	1.4	1,686

Do English- and Spanish-language stations concentrate more international coverage on countries aligned with the dominant Latino subgroup in their broadcast area? The results from our within-market analysis of Los Angeles, Miami, and New York are mixed. For English-language stations, only Miami somewhat conforms to our expectations with one in ten world affairs stories (10 percent) mentioning Cuba.<sup>27</sup> Overall, the results show that English-language stations pay rather scant attention to specific countries that may be of interest to the dominant Latino populations in each of these cities.<sup>28</sup>

The results for the Spanish-language stations, however, do conform to our expectations. In particular, nearly half of Spanish-language stories in Los Angeles featured Mexico (47 percent), and only slightly fewer (44 percent) Spanish-language stories in Miami featured Cuba. New York Spanish-language stations did focus somewhat on Puerto Rico (11 percent), but they also focused on the Dominican Republic (12 percent).<sup>29</sup> The amount of country-specific coverage in each Spanish-language market is therefore significantly different than its English-language counterpart.<sup>30</sup>

Descriptively, the results seem to comport with most of our basic theoretical expectations, but how do they hold up under multivariate analysis? More specifically, which factors correlate most with niche audience content? We estimate probit

**Table 4**  
**Probit Analysis Predicting Tendency to Cater to Latino Audiences**

	Election Coverage		World Affairs Coverage				
	Mention of Latino Interests		Mention of Latin American Country		Mention of Cuba		Mention of Mexico
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model
Spanish language	1.37***	1.38***	2.07***	2.06***	0.98***	0.98***	1.64***
Diversity index	4.64***	—	4.14***	—	3.67***	—	2.12
Latino diversity	-3.25**	-1.52	-2.87*	-1.17	0.40	1.91*	-4.69*
Est. nbr illegals	-0.09**	-0.04	-0.09***	-0.04**	-0.05**	-0.01	-0.03
Market size	-0.94	-0.77	-1.67***	-1.49***	-0.82	-0.69	0.01
Size × diversity index	1.49	1.25	2.53***	2.27***	1.00	0.82	— <sup>a</sup>
Herfindahl–Hirschman Index	—	-0.07***	—	-0.06***	—	-0.05***	— <sup>a</sup>
Nbr election stories	-0.01**	-0.01**	—	—	—	—	—
Nbr international stories	—	—	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.01
Constant	-1.03	1.31	-0.61	1.27	-3.36***	-1.73	-0.16
$\chi^2$	316.03	323.35	592.35	580.94	308.62	299.44	140.72
<i>n</i>	2,560	2,560	2,157	2,157	2,157	2,157	2,157
Pseudo- <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.30	.30	.42	.42	.31	.31	.32

Note: Standard errors clustered by station.

a. Cannot be included due to collinearity.

\**p* < .1. \*\**p* < .05. \*\*\**p* < .01.

models predicting the propensity of domestic and international political stories to focus on issues and countries of interest to Latino audiences:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Catering to Latinos} = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ Spanish} + \beta_2 \text{ Diversity Index} + \\ & \beta_3 \text{ Latino Diversity} + \beta_4 \text{ Est. Nbr Illegal Immigrants} + \beta_5 \text{ Market Size} + \\ & \beta_6 \text{ Market Size} \times \text{Diversity Index} + \beta_7 \text{ HHI} + \beta_8 \text{ Nbr Political Stories} + \epsilon \end{aligned}$$

Specifically, we examine four dependent variables: the extent to which election stories mention Latino interests, the extent to which world affairs stories mention at least one Latin American country, and the extent to which world affairs stories mention Mexico or mention the Caribbean countries of Cuba and Haiti in particular.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, within our sample, the HHI is highly, negatively correlated with the population diversity index. Therefore, we include two specifications for each dependent variable: one with the population diversity index (Model 1, excluding HHI) and one with HHI (Model 2, excluding the diversity index). Table 4 contains the results of these estimations.

The results demonstrate strong support for our expectations. Across the board, Spanish-language domestic and international political stories were more likely to contain references to Latino issues in election stories and Latin American countries in international stories. The predicted probability of Spanish-language election stories referencing Latino issues was 0.21 compared to only 0.01 for English-language. There is an even larger difference in world affairs stories mentioning Latin American countries; the predicted probability was 0.64 for Spanish-language compared to 0.04 for English-language news stories.<sup>32</sup>

More fundamental to our argument, however, is that the extent to which a particular station caters to Latino niche audiences is contingent on characteristics of the niche with respect to the population of the market. As the overall demographic diversity of a market increases, so does the likelihood that outlets will cater to Latino content preferences. Furthermore, the coefficient on the overall diversity index is statistically significant in all cases except the tendency of stations to report news from Mexico. In general, we also find that diversity within the Latino population of a market decreases the extent to which stations will yield to Latino preferences (although the results are only statistically significant in the population diversity specifications). The one exception to the overall trend is in the tendency to cover Cuba, where diversity of Latinos within a market actually increases the propensity that stations will cover news about Cuba.

How do political, intergroup relations factor into coverage? In every case, increases in the number of illegal immigrants within a market is negatively associated with focusing on Latino-related political coverage, and the coefficient for the variable estimating the number of illegal immigrants is statistically significant in four out of seven cases. Market size is inversely related to the tendency to focus on Latino-related international coverage, but as diversity within large markets increases, stations are much more likely to cater to Latinos in international affairs. However, neither market size nor the interaction between diversity and market size appear to affect domestically related content or mentions of Cuba or Mexico.

The level of competition within a market (as measured by the HHI), however, is positively associated with the tendency to cater to Latino preferences in both domestic and international political coverage (lower numbers in HHI indicate more competition, so the negative sign on the coefficient indicates a positive correlation between market competition and catering to Latinos). Finally, the number of election stories is negatively related to Latino-related content, suggesting niche audience stories, in domestic politics at least, may be a feature of slow news days.

## Discussion and Conclusion

Broadcasters, congressional mandates, and federal regulatory policy agree that local television stations should cater to their local communities. Despite recognizing



that media markets differ widely with respect to size, diversity, and consumer preference, little was known about how broadcasters define “community” in practice. Through an analysis of Spanish- and English-language television news, we have demonstrated general market media attention to a particular niche is associated with target audience characteristics, the size of the media market, the interaction of size and characteristics, and the degree of competition between local stations. The results have implications for how both localism (a prized public policy) and pluralism (a philosophical ideal) work in practice.

To a certain extent, our findings are encouraging in that local news stations do alter their content according to changing demographic trends (whatever the causal mechanism may be, a number of which are outlined above). Stations in competitive, diverse markets are open to airing content that reflects the market’s demographics. From a policy perspective, this finding is important because it shows a clear link between two of the three goals of FCC regulatory policy as it relates to local media markets; namely, market competition and diversity of content. As noted above, stations in more competitive markets were more likely to air content of interest to Latinos, which for a general market station is by definition more diverse. Given that FCC regulatory policy is partly based on increasing *both* market competition and diversity of content, this is perhaps an encouraging sign. At the same time, however, the results suggest that local political factors may also influence stations’ decisions to air more diverse content. The greater the number of illegal immigrants (and perhaps the greater the level of intergroup conflict) within a market appears to act as a barrier to general market stations’ decision to reach out to Latino audiences. In essence, politics gets in the way of increasing localism by hindering the introduction of more diverse content.

While these results may show the difficulty that the FCC has in balancing its goals of localism, diversity, and competition, they also clearly show that even under the most optimal conditions (e.g., diverse market, growing minority audiences, high competition, etc.), general market outlets do not go to great lengths to cater to Latino audiences. It is this realization that is perhaps the most disturbing, as it is at odds with the philosophical ideal of pluralism and consistent with previous research concerning general market newspapers (DeSipio and Henson 2008; Subervi-Vélez and Lozano 2008) and general market network programming (Langenkamp and Subervi-Vélez 2008; Wilkinson 2008).

Given our data come from the height of the 2004 election season, during an intensely competitive presidential campaign in which Latino votes were highly sought after by both parties (see Connaughton et al. 2008), it is actually possible that our results may overestimate the extent to which English-language media cater to Latinos throughout the rest of the year, in the absence of campaigns explicitly reaching out to minorities. If so, the results are even more ominous. As Federico Subervi-Vélez (2008) outlines, there are many reasons to believe that

with proper cues from the media and other campaign information, Latinos—including those who are acculturated or in the process of becoming fully immersed into the political norms of the United States—may be prone to enhance their political knowledge, involvement, and/or activism when they perceive Latino connections to a candidate or a campaign. (p. 53)

According to the results presented here, there is little evidence that Latinos are receiving the “proper cues” about the domestic political process from local television news, regardless of the language in which it is delivered.

In international coverage, local Spanish-language stations in 2004 continued to provide significantly more coverage of world affairs than their English-language counterparts, and there is some evidence that local Spanish-language stations are more likely to focus their world affairs coverage on the countries of origin of the dominant Latino subpopulation. Taken together, these results suggest that for Latino viewers of English-language news, their country of origin is irrelevant, and for Latino viewers of Spanish-language news, only specific countries are important. The vast discrepancies in international coverage between Spanish and English content may help to explain knowledge gaps on foreign affairs in the English-language citizenry within the United States.

Given what is known about the power of the media to shape the agenda and affect citizen perceptions of how issues and interests should be prioritized (Iyengar and Kinder 1987) and more specifically the potential power of both English- and Spanish-language media to shape the opinion of the more pluralistic and less acculturated segment of the Latino audience (see Subervi-Vélez 2008, chap. 3, 17), these results are a serious problem. In essence, our results suggest that even under the most favorable demographic scenarios, English-language stations broadcast very little information that would help Latinos participate in the democratic process, while Spanish-language stations encourage Latinos to prioritize connections to their home countries. Given this combination, it is difficult to conclude how local broadcasters in either language are contributing to a broader and more unified community that includes Latinos.

While this analysis represents a first step in understanding how contextual factors shape the political content of news organizations, there is much more to do. In particular, we have examined only the cross-sectional correlation among media output, news audiences, and market factors. Clearly, however, this relationship is not static, nor is it exogenous. Changes in one affect the other, as media continually adjust their content in response to consumers, and vice versa. Therefore, future research should attempt to model the dynamics of this process. Additional work should also assess the role of gatekeepers and news management (e.g., collect more organization-specific data on the diversity of the news staffs of media outlets), as the characteristics of individuals in decision-making roles may also shape the news environment. Furthermore, while we believe Latinos represent a critical test of the theory of niche audiences, it remains to be seen whether these findings can be generalized to other niches.

Despite these limitations, however, our analysis has made several important contributions to the literature. We develop, test, and find strong support for a general theory of sociological, political, and economic factors relating to the decision to cater to target audiences. In the process, we have also brought some of the first systematic evidence on local Spanish- and English-language newscasts across multiple markets to bear on the question of how well broadcasters fulfill the localism obligation. While political communication scholars have examined news content as a dependent variable (Benson 2004), we believe there is much more to learn. Such a focus not only sheds light on the conditions under which media will cater to specific populations but also highlights differences in the political content reaching citizen consumers of different sources. Finally, we believe our approach is also consistent with Schudson's (2002) call for political scientists to look beyond the indoctrination model of media influence to the cultural ways in which mass media—in its establishment of meanings (e.g., How is the local community defined?) and presentation of suppositions (e.g., Whose interests matter?)—interact with ordinary citizens in incorporating (as well as occasionally shaping or reinforcing) general beliefs, assumptions, and values surrounding the political system.

## Notes

1. Telecommunications Act of 1996, Pub. L.A. No. 104-104, 110 Stat. 56 (1996) at 221.
2. Federal Communication Commission, "2002 Biennial Regulatory Review—Review of the Commission's Broadcast Ownership Rules and Other Rules Adopted Pursuant to Section 202 of the Telecommunications Act of 1996," FCC 03-127 MB Docket 02-277, June 2, 2003. Available at [http://hraunfoss.fcc.gov/edocs\\_public/attachmatch/FCC-03-127A1.pdf](http://hraunfoss.fcc.gov/edocs_public/attachmatch/FCC-03-127A1.pdf) (accessed March 3, 2008).
3. Federal Communication Commission, "Report on Broadcast Localism and Notice of Proposed Rulemaking," FCC 07-218 MB Docket 04-233, December 18, 2007. Available at [http://hraunfoss.fcc.gov/edocs\\_public/attachmatch/FCC-07-218A1.doc](http://hraunfoss.fcc.gov/edocs_public/attachmatch/FCC-07-218A1.doc) (accessed March 3, 2008).
4. See Pew Center for the People & the Press (2006) and Project for Excellence in Journalism (2005).
5. *Reply Comments of the National Association of Broadcasters in the Matter of Broadcast Localism*, p. i, National Association of Broadcasters (January 3, 2005). *Replay Comments of the National Association of Broadcasters in the Matter Broadcast Localism*, Federal Communications Commission Broadcast Localism, Notice of Inquiry in MB Docket, 04-233, 19 FCC Rcd 12425, 2004. Available at <http://www.nab.org/AM/AMTemplate.cfm?template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=3591>.
6. See Project for Excellence in Journalism (2004).
7. The concept of "niche" has several meanings derived from work in ecology, business, economics, and sociology. While a review of the conceptual differences is beyond the scope of this article, we draw on something closer to the ecological definition from Ricklefs and Miller's (1999) work:

The niche . . . occupies a part of the n-dimensional volume that represents the total resource space, or niche space, available to the community. We think of the total niche space of a community as a volume into which the niches of all species fit, as do balls of various sizes packed in a box. (Dimmick 2004, p. 24)

In this case, the community is defined by the geographic boundaries of the local media market, and typically a niche refers to the mapping between the population in ecology or firm/organization in economics/sociology (in this case individual, local television stations) and the environment or market (in this case potential audiences/consumers residing within the media market). While we recognize and appreciate the dynamic nature of the niche mapping process, content data on local television news are rare and (until recently) very expensive to obtain, and longitudinal data across multiple markets are virtually nonexistent (Hale et al. 2007). Given how little we know about local TV, our goal is to examine the cross-sectional relationship between TV outlets and particular audiences, which we hope will form the foundation for future longitudinal work. Therefore, unless otherwise specified, we will use the term *niche* or the term *target audiences* to refer generally to specific sets of consumers that firms may pursue (rather than to the mapping between firms and consumers, which implies dynamics).

8. See Project for Excellence in Journalism (2007).

9. See Project for Excellence in Journalism (2005).

10. For example, in February 2008, KMEX-TV's Spanish-language evening news program in Los Angeles averaged 70,000 more viewers per night than its closest English-language competitor. See "Switch to Espanol," *Washington Post*, May 11, 2008, p. B1. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/05/09/AR2008050902540.html>.

11. In 2004, Latino officially passed African American as the largest minority group in the United States. Furthermore, Latinos are expected to become a majority in California by the mid-21st century and form an even more sizable minority group in several key political battleground states including Florida, New Mexico, Arizona, New York, New Jersey, Colorado, and Illinois (<http://www.census.gov>).

12. See Project for Excellence in Journalism (2004).

13. We realize that these factors are all external to the news organization itself. As pointed out in many research reports (see the Poynter Institute study as an example, available at [http://www.poynter.org/content/content\\_view.asp?id=5045](http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=5045)), the ethnic makeup of the newsroom and the comparative lack of people of color involved in producing the news are likely to have an effect on the propensity of general market stations to produce stories of interest to people of color. Future research should examine the role of the diversity in the newsroom and outcomes of news stories.

14. Sociologists and organizational ecologists note that it is possible for even the "most general" audience of an organization to be fairly "specific." Our point is that the most general audience of mainstream media outlets is broader and more general than the most general audience of Spanish-language stations.

15. Obviously, we are including bilingual and monolingual speakers in characterizing these audience subsets.

16. Alternatively, English-language stations in markets with thriving Spanish-language media may choose to ignore Latino interests in favor of segmenting the market along ethnic lines (e.g., Guidry and Sawyer 2003; Olzak and West 1991). While this may suggest nonlinearity in the relationship between market demographics and inclusion of minority interests (which we examine), we believe that stations will be most interested in increasing their market share, which means they should at least to some extent cater to Latino interests.

17. There are obviously many ways a general market broadcaster might attempt to attract Latinos. For example, some networks and even some local stations are marketing the existence of second audio programming (SAP) for a small number of programs, allowing viewers to receive simultaneous translations of English-language content into other languages. However, many local stations have abandoned the use if SAP is not profitable (see <http://www.allbusiness.com/marketing-advertising/marketing-techniques/6339021-1.html>).

18. In principle, target audience preferences could be synonymous with the overall population preferences, but in that case we would be unable to distinguish media organization efforts to draw in a target audience from efforts to maintain their general audience.

19. While there are a host of technological, social, cultural and structural reasons why this is occurring, and as Park (1999) and Karpathakis (1999) point out this sense of transnationalism or dualism is not

limited to Latinos, it is sufficient to say that Latinos are generally more likely to be interested in news and information about a "home" country than are traditional Anglo viewers.

20. See Pew Hispanic Center (2004).

21. Scholars studying Spanish-language newspapers and radio programs agree that the need to attract viewers with varied national backgrounds is at least partially responsible for an orientation toward events in Mexico, the Caribbean, and Latin America over domestic U.S. developments (Fitzpatrick 1987; Subervi-Vélez 1994, 2008; Veciana Suárez 1990). We contend that this orientation may be even more pronounced at the local level where broadcasters must be highly responsive to the regional and ethnic makeup of their specific communities (Alexandre and Rehbindler 2002).

Rather than dictate what should count as Latino interests, we preferred to let the news outlets themselves identify interests as "Latino related." So if the reporter or anchor suggested a candidate was focusing on issues important to Latinos, those stories counted regardless of what specific issues were mentioned. The actual wording of the coding question was, "Does the story discuss Latino/Hispanic interests?"

22. See Nielsen Media Research (2007).

23. Markets included in the 2004 analysis were New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Dallas, Seattle, Miami, Denver, Orlando, Tampa, Dayton, and Des Moines. In addition, the project captured the national news broadcast on ABC, NBC, CBS, Telemundo, and Univision, which are not included in this article.

24. For more information, visit [www.localnewsarchive.org](http://www.localnewsarchive.org) or [www.polisci.wisc.edu/uwnewslab](http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/uwnewslab).

25. We use the average of the estimates reported by Pew Hispanic Center based on the March 2005 Current Population Survey. See <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/17.pdf>.

26. The Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI) is calculated by squaring the market share of each station competing in the market that has at least 1 percent market share (including Spanish-language stations where applicable) and then summing across all firms. The higher the number, the more a given market is like a monopoly. In general, an HHI score above 1,800 is considered to be highly concentrated by the FCC. For the purposes of this analysis, we rescale the variable by dividing by 100.

27. In fact, Miami's English-language stations actually had a higher percentage of stories mentioning Mexico compared to Los Angeles, a finding that contradicts our expectations. One possible explanation for this is that the news managers, staff, and other gatekeepers in Miami may be Latinos who value other Latino stories. This is most likely not the case in New York, which may explain why no stories about Puerto Rico aired. Future research should examine this relationship.

28. Obviously, it is possible that the noted strident political activism of Miami's Cuban population especially as it relates to the issue of Fidel Castro and Cuba may be a factor in the level of news coverage Latinos received in Miami. Exploring this possibility is beyond the scope of this article (see Lavariega Monforti 2006; <http://archive.salon.com/news/feature/2000/04/07/movement/index.html>).

29. The Dominican population in New York is the second largest Latino subpopulation behind Puerto Ricans and is also growing faster than the Puerto Rican population, which has more recently settled in central Florida, particularly Orlando.

30. We compared the coverage in Spanish- and English-language news of Mexico in Los Angeles ( $t = -12.194$ ,  $p = .000$ ), Cuba in Miami ( $t = -7.418$ ,  $p = .000$ ), and Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic in New York ( $t = -5.693$ ,  $p = .000$ ).

31. We exclude the model for Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic due to the small incidence of mentions across markets, and due to low variance, we cannot include all of our desired controls in the Mexico model for similar reasons.

32. Predicted probabilities were calculated holding all other variables at their means. The 95 percent confidence intervals do not overlap (0.13 to 0.28 for Spanish-language and 0.01 to 0.02 for English-language election stories; 0.03 to 0.05 for Spanish- and 0.5 to 0.8 for English-language world affairs stories).

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